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Listing the Wunderkammer

Order and Narrative in Catalogues of the Paludanus-Collection (c. 1600)

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»A thesaurus of the world, a compendium of everything / The ark of the universe, the depository of sacred Nature (...) / this is the theatre of all things and a great storehouse« – Hugo Grotius applied almost all of the contemporary synonyms for *museum* to describe the *Wunderkammer* of the Dutch physician Bernardus Paludanus (1550–1633), one of the most important but now largely forgotten collections of natural and ethnographic objects around 1600 in Europe.¹ Hundreds of visitors from all over Europe, in particular from German regions, came to see the rooms in which Paludanus kept his »compendium of everything«: large drawers overflowing with dried fruits, leaves and plants, specimens of local and tropical woods, prepared fish and reptile skins. Stuffed birds (including birds of paradise and parrots) were positioned on top of cabinets in which other drawers were filled with insects, shells, mussels and corals, animal bones, horns and antlers. Boxes full of earth and clay, stones, gems and large pieces of marble and coral offered a view on the mineral world. There was an extensive collection of antique and contemporary medals and coins of foreign currencies in gold, silver and copper. Ethnographic items included knives and swords, as well as clothing and utensils from »both Indies«, Chinese writing tools and Egyptian mummies.

1. A Wunderkammer in Enkhuizen

Born in 1550 in Steenwijk (a town near the Friesland border) as Berent ten Broecke, Bernardus Paludanus studied in Heidelberg in 1573 and moved in 1576 to Padua to continue his medical studies, receiving his doctorate there in 1580.² Between 1578 and 1580 he travelled around in Italy and, according to his extensive *album amicorum*, paid visits to all eminent collectors of *naturalia* there: the apothecaries Francesco Calzolari in Verona and

1 Poem by Hugo Grotius in Kongelige Bibliotek, Kopenhagen (KBK), MS GKS 3467, 8^o, [6]. This poem was also published in a slightly different version in Idem, *Poemata*, Leiden 1639, 276.

2 A biography of Paludanus in Hunger, H., Bernardus Paludanus (Berent ten Broeke) 1550–1633. *Zijn verzamelingen en zijn werk*, in: Linschoten, J. H. van, *Itinerario*, ed. by C. P. Burger, III, The Hague 1934, 249–268. I am working on *Four Parts of the World*, a monograph on Paludanus, his *album amicorum* and his collections.

Ferrante Imperato in Naples; Michele Mercati, superintendent of the Vatican gardens in Rome; and, arguably the most influential of them all, Ulisse Aldrovandi, professor of botany in Bologna and director of the university's *Hortus Botanicus*.³ Paludanus proceeded to Sicily and Malta and spent some months in the summer of 1578 touring the Holy Land and Egypt. In 1580 he embarked upon a long trip through the German-speaking territories, from Strasbourg, Augsburg and Innsbruck to Waldenburg, Jena, Leipzig, Goslar and Wolfenbüttel – a trip he needed to cut short in 1581 when he received news about the terrible state of his plague-infested hometown Steenwijk. Indeed, as he wrote to his friend Joachim Camerarius, physician in Nuremberg, in a depressed letter of September 1581, both his parents and his brother had already died, and he was prepared to return to »those that were left, to die with them«. ⁴ Paludanus, however, did not die but married, got a job as town physician in Zwolle in December 1581 and moved to the harbour town of Enkhuizen two years later to assume a similar position there. He did not travel much again.

From the moment he settled in Enkhuizen, word of Paludanus's wonderful museum spread rapidly through Europe. In November 1593, the young count of Hanau-Münzenberg, Philipp Ludwig II, paid his respects, referring to Paludanus as »famous in the whole of Europe, in the whole world«. In his travel diary, Philipp Ludwig listed the many »*miraculae naturae*« he had seen: »all what the earth gives us and what the sea gives us« as well as exotic plants, animals, and utensils from »China, India, America, Africa, Asia, Peru, Egypt, Malacca, Spain, the Canary Islands, Turkey and Greece«. ⁵ The collection quickly developed into an international laboratory of knowledge. Ulisse Aldrovandi, whom Paludanus had visited in July 1597, made note of the »bellissimo studio di cose naturali« in Enkhuizen and asked friends to report back to him what treasures the collection contained. ⁶ Observations based on Paludanus's objects made their way into printed publications, such as the *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien* (1596) by his friend Jan Huygen van Linschoten (who also lived in Enkhuizen). ⁷

Many of the things in his *Wunderkammer* had been collected by Paludanus himself. Indeed, from the existing sources documenting his life, it is clear that he had been extremely active in collecting samples, objects and materials from the places he had traveled to during his formative student years – from »Little stones from Mount Sion near Jerusalem, where Christ had the Last Supper« to »A little stone from the top of the Olive

3 The *album amicorum* is kept in The Hague, National Library (KB), MS 133 B 63.

4 Erlangen, Sammlung Trew, H62 nr. 9, Paludanus to Camerarius, 21 September 1581.

5 Marburg, Staatsarchiv, HLA-HStAM Best. 81, 47, nr. 8, f. 29r–v: »Celebris in tota Europa & Orbe Terrarum ... Alles was die erd gibt, vnd was die See gibt ... und unerhörte Ding auss China, India, America, Africa, Asia, Peru, Aegypten, Malacca, Hispania, Insulis fortunatis, Auss Turquay, Gracia etc.«

6 Bologna, University Library, Fondo Aldrovandi 143/14, f. 47.

7 Gelder, Roelof van, *Paradijsvogels in Enkhuizen. De relatie tussen Van Linschoten en Bernardus Paludanus*, in: idem (ed.), *Souffrir pour parvenir. De wereld van Jan Huygen van Linschoten*, Haarlem 1998, 30–50.

Mountain where Christ the Lord has ascended into Heaven, where one can see one of His footsteps«. ⁸ Paludanus gathered lava stones from the Etna and Vesuvius, and he visited German mines so he could add minerals and fossils to his geological collections. While on his trip to the Holy Land and Egypt, he collected amulets (»idols«) in the necropolis of Sâqqara himself, descending into graves and taking apart the mummies buried there. ⁹

2. The Collection Lists

Although only a few objects from Paludanus's collection can still be identified in museums today, its extraordinary quality and quantity is evident from four contemporary lists that have been preserved and that were composed by Paludanus himself in 1592/93, 1600, 1617 and 1624, respectively. In this essay, I would like to discuss the semantics and pragmatics of these lists, which are quite different in their composition, order and wording. I will understand them not only as methodologies for making sense of the world and its things but also as practical and commercial instruments.

An important indication of the intended function of these lists is alluded to in their heading: Paludanus used the terms index, catalogue, description and register, sometimes even explicitly as synonyms, as »title« of the list. Of these, his favourite seems to have been *Index*, literally meaning one who points out, or forefinger. Since the invention of page numbers in the 1470s, the index had become an increasingly familiar tool in books, allowing the reader to navigate – and control – its contents. The term could also be applied to other types of lists, which did not refer to textual passages but rather to objects or specimens; it is in this capacity that Paludanus employs the term to present (information about) his objects. His *Indexes* read as schematic descriptions of his collections: they do not refer so much to the actual ordering of objects in the collection but rather to its underlying systematic organization according to the domains of nature. Thus, these lists cannot be used to easily search for specific objects or to navigate the collection site. Rather, the practice which underpins the lists discussed here is similar to the scribal traditions of early modern apothecaries, labelling their specimen lists *poliza* or *catalogo*. ¹⁰ As Valentina Pugliano has shown, such apothecary catalogues had »the greatest potential for further revision, edit-

8 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS GKS, 3467, 8^o, Catalogue of the Paludanus Collection 1617, 140: »Steynlyn von den berg Sion bij Jerusalem, dar Christus syn letzte abentmal gehalten hat«, 141: »Ein steinlyn oben von den Olijffberg om die gegent dar Christus der Heere nach dem Hemel isz auffgefahen alwar das noch aine von syne fuszstapffen is zu sehn.«

9 Koblusek, Marika, Early Modern Grave Robbing. Egyptian Objects in the Collection of Bernardus Paludanus (1550–1633), in: Keurs, Pieter/O'Farrell, Holly (ed.), MCS Yearbook 2021, Leiden 2022, 89–101.

10 Pugliano, Valentina, Specimen Lists: Artisanal Writing or Natural Historical Paperwork?, in: Isis 103 (2012), 716–726.

ing, and an afterlife in print«. ¹¹ Indeed, Paludanus labels the most extensive of his collection lists as *catalogus*, translating this in the German subtitle as »Verzeichnis« (or register).

As authored documents, the Paludanus lists functioned as both mnemonic and systematic overviews of the collection – not for its owner but for a visitor (real or imagined). Thus, they are related to what Alessandra Russo has described as »a type of narrative that made visible *physical spaces*«. ¹² The four lists differ much in style and format: a visual grid, which refers to the collection both as a process and an overview; a »poetic« list ordered around classical gods; a numbered list which focuses on categories of objects and the individual items within those categories; and, finally, a »narrative« one centering on its author (Paludanus) and the collection. These lists do not necessarily aim to allow their readers to navigate the collection by themselves but are tools to emphasize (and even advertize) parts of, or objects in, the Paludanus museum.

Since no detailed depictions or descriptions of the actual lay-out of the Paludanus museum exist, it is difficult to determine to what extent these lists did indeed reflect the spatial organization of the rooms and how this may have possibly changed over time.

The only description known can be found in the travel journal of Johann Wilhelm Neumair von Ramsla, who visited Paludanus in 1597 and was taken into »a large room, in which [Paludanus] showed us the following things in drawers 1 ½ hand high and 1 ½ el wide, which stood on long tables in an orderly manner and which one could touch«. ¹³ Neumair gives short descriptions of the (numbered?) drawers and the number of items in each of these, which only partly overlap with information in the earlier lists of 1592 and 1600. ¹⁴ Neumair also mentions two other rooms, one filled with larger cabinets and drawers with, for example, two mummies, yet also containing a small library of »excellent authors«; and one small room filled with what may have been the ethnographic part of the collection: »full of Indian drinkware and beautiful porcelain dishes. Also several art objects of Venetian glass, drinkware made of *terra sigillata*, a large, painted wooden dish from China«. ¹⁵

11 Ibidem, 720.

12 Russo, Alessandra, Cortés's Objects and the Idea of New Spain: Inventories as Spatial Narratives, in: Journal of the History of Collections 23 (2022), 229–254, here 230.

13 Staatsbibliothek Berlin, HS Germ. 1621, f. 303v: »Führte uns erstlich in ein gros gemach, in welchem er uns nachfolgende sachen in kasten 1 ½ handt hoch und 1 ½ elen lang und breit, so uf langen tischen gar ordentlich herumb stunden, zeigte und anfenglich warn.« See Boblenz, Frank, Ein niederländischer Stammbucheintrag des Johann Wilhelm Neumair von Ramsla aus Weimar für Bernardus Paludanus in Enkhuizen aus 1597, in: Weimar-Jena: Die große Stadt 4 (2011), 262–285.

14 A concordance of all drawers and items of the four lists is in progress. Since the natural items (like sand or stones) are rather general, it is often not evident whether items are indeed the same but have, for example, been moved to another drawer.

15 Staatsbibliothek Berlin, HS Germ. 1621, f. 314v: »Solches stunt voll indianischer trinkgeschirr und schöner schußeln aus borzelana. Item ettlicher kunststücke aus venedischen glaße, trinkgeschirr aus terra sigillata, eine große gemalte hulzerne schußel aus China.«

Yet even if we can match the more specific references Neumair applies to contents of the drawers in the first room to the lists under discussion here, possible differences may already be explained by the progress of time: objects could have been removed out of or moved within the collection, and objects could have been added.

In the discussion of each of these lists, then, we will aim to understand how their respective order and narrative form a textual point of reference to the material objects, the categorical relationship between them, and their position within the cabinets and drawers in the Paludanus museum.

3. The *Index* of 1592/93

Published in 1603 but most likely compiled in 1592/93, the first object list related to the Paludanus collection forms a non-paginated, inserted part of the *Warhaffte Beschreybung Zweyer Reisen*. This report on the travels of duke Friedrich of Württemberg-Teck to and from England in 1592 was written by ducal secretary Jakob Rathgeb.¹⁶ The *Index Rerum Omnium Naturalium a Bernardo Paludani (...) Collectarum* is the only one of the four collection lists that was printed.

In September 1592, travelling from England back home to Stuttgart, Friedrich had stayed overnight in Enkhuizen. The next day, Paludanus showed the duke his

Wunderkammer, which can truthfully be called a Wunderkammer or miracle room, because [Paludanus] has such wonderful things, which he himself has brought over from India and Egypt and other far away strange lands, things which would not quickly be found anywhere else together. And of each object a description will now follow, for the sake of wonder.¹⁷

16 The book was first published in 1603. I have used: Rathgeb, Jakob, *Warhaffte Beschreibung zweyer Reisen, welcher erste (die Badenfahrt genannt) der Durchleuchtig Hochgeborne Fürst unnd Herr, Herr Fridrich Hertzog zu Württemberg unnd Teckh [...] im Jahr 1592 von Mümppegart auß, in das weitberühmte Königreich Engellandt: hernach in zuruck ziehen durch die Niderlandt biß widerumb gen Mümppegart, wol verrichtet: die ander, so Hochgemelter Fürst auß [...] Studtgarten, im Jahr 1599 in Italiam gethan, und von Rom auß, durch vil andere Ort, widerumb gen Studtgart, anno 1600 im Mayen, glücklich heimgeelangt, Tübingen 1604.*

17 *Warhaffte Beschreybung*, f. 42v: A »Wunderkammer welche mit Warheit ein Wunder Kammer genennt werden kan, dann er dergleichen und solche wunderbarliche sachen, die [Paludanus] selbst aus Indien unnd Egypten, unnd andern weit gelegnen frembden Landen zur handt gebracht, dass nicht bald müglich solche anderwärts also beysamen zufinden. Wie dann umb wonders willen derselbigen Beschreibung von stuck zu stuck hernach folgt.«

This was followed by the 23-page long *Index Rerum Omnium Naturalium*, authored not by Rathgeb but by Paludanus himself, whose descriptions of drawers and objects seem to be factual rather than aiming for the poetry of wonder. (The sense of wonder which Rathgeb advertised in his introduction apparently stemmed from the sheer number of objects and their rarity.)

The *Index* lists 87 so-called large drawers (*capsula*), probably all part of large cabinets which are, however, not mentioned. The drawers are subdivided in »boxes« (*receptacula*), »little drawers« (*thecae*) or »little pigeonholes« (*loculi*), holding a single object, such as a shell or a piece of wood, or groups of objects and materials (several stones or »sea salt from Spain«). The entire collection is divided in three groups: the first forty drawers (divided into 2096 little boxes) are filled with objects and material »from the earth and made by fossils«; drawers 41 to 66 (a total of 1665 boxes) contain »things belonging to the garden, in and on the earth«, while the third group of »things from the water and the sea« has twenty large drawers containing 1845 boxes.¹⁸ This makes for a minimum of 5600 »natural« objects if one counts one item/category per box. Paludanus's interest in ethnographic *exotica* is evident from the last item in the catalogue: a drawer »containing diverse costumes (*Kleydung*) and foreign things from Syria, Persia, Armenia, the East and West Indies, Turkey, Arabia and Moscow, several hundreds of them«.¹⁹

The most striking feature of the *Index Rerum Omnium Naturalium* is its representation of the first ten drawers (*capsula*), likely the most important ones of the collection, in a table or »grid« (a rectangular diagram divided into small rectangles), with each »drawer« spread over two pages.²⁰ Remarkably, this grid is not the same for every one of the ten drawers but shows different constellations: less or more individual rectangles (or individual compartments on the drawer), of different sizes and even »empty« ones – that is, without identifying descriptions of contents. This suggests that there is a material and spatial connection to the *Index* and the Paludanus collection: the drawers represented on paper are depicted as they are in the museum. Authenticity, then, seems to have been a major concern in (the insertion of) the *Index* and points to the fact that the collection was not a static phenomenon but always in progress: the material confinement of the drawer both

18 Ibidem, 40: »Laden voller Sachen, die ausz der Erden kommen, vndd von den *Fossilibus* gemacht worden (...) Sachen zu Hoff gehören vnd in vnd auff dem Erdreich grunen (...) Sachen ausz dem Wasser vnd dem Meer.«

19 Ibidem, s.p.: »Noch ein Laden darinne allerley Kleydungen vnd frembde sachen ausz Syria, Persien, Armenien, Ost vnnndt West Indien, Türckheyen, Arabien, Muscouien, &c zu etliche hunderten, die ich alle mit gelegenheit vnd zeit, ein jeglichs in sein Kasten stellen soll, vnd E.F.Gn. zustellen.«

20 Swan, Claudia, From Blowfish to Flower Still Life Paintings. Classification and Its Images, circa 1600, in: Smith, Pamela H./Findlen, Paula (ed.), *Merchants and Marvels. Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, New York/London 2002, 109–136.

suggesting and negating completeness; this collection was not complete yet, and not all drawers had been filled or could be filled.

The ten drawers depicted were superscribed with a »title« (*titulus*), indicating a larger category into which the contents of the drawer could be classified. Possibly copied from inscriptions or labels on the cabinets that housed the drawers in the physical collection, these titles thus conceptually linked the *Index* and the *Museum* – the words and the things. Grids and tables were certainly used in botanical, medical and pharmaceutical publications, but I have not come across any other contemporary catalogue in which these were similarly used to visually index a collection.²¹ However, a possible inspiration may have been the depiction of the cabinet (the »Ark«) in which Johannes Kentmann (1518–1574) from Torgau kept his stone and mineral collection and which Paludanus may have seen on his tour of Germany.²²

In this form of visual representation, the first ten drawers of the Paludanus *Wunderkammer* are depicted as if the reader has just opened one and is looking into it from above, seeing all the subdivisions, that is, the boxes, at once. Alluding to the performative aspect of collections, this visual cataloguing enabled a reader not only to imagine himself as an active participant in the physical space of the Paludanus museum but also allowed him to have an immediate overview of the general and the specific nature of a certain sort of thing – in other words, to visually understand the classification of specific parts of nature.

Paludanus himself is present in his *Index*, too, literally guiding the reader through his collections – as he must have done the duke of Württemberg-Teck and so many visitors later on. Where most subdivisions only bear an identifying label describing the contents of each box, Paludanus occasionally provided a German translation, a reference to an item's geographical provenance or to objects that he received from princes, such as the dukes of Württemberg-Teck, Anhalt and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, and from other well-placed acquaintances, like the *hortulanus* of the Medici garden in Florence or an apothecary from London.

These references to Paludanus himself as an active presence within the text may also have to do with the original occasion of the *Index*'s compilation. Perhaps it was composed specifically for the sake of inclusion in Rathgeb's printed travel account. Yet its ambiguous last line, promising another list to be sent to the duke of Württemberg-Teck once Paludanus had sorted out his ethnographic objects, suggests the intended recipient of the *Index* was, in the first place, Friedrich himself and that the collection overview was meant as a

21 Ibidem, 121–125.

22 Published in Gessner, Conrad, *De omni rerum fossilium genere, gemmis, lapidibus, metallis, et huiusmodi, libri aliquot, plerique nunc primum editi* (...) *Quorum Catalogum sequens folium continet*, Zürich 1656, f. a5v. Paludanus's order and classification of stones in his first drawers seems also to have been based on this publication.

memorial to the duke's visit. In that sense, the *Index* can be understood as an epistolary list describing (perhaps even advertising) a »wonderful« collection.²³

4. The *Index (...)* *Catalogus* of 1600

Indeed, the second list, the *Index rerum fossilium (...)* *Catalogus*, was certainly meant for a specific recipient. Paludanus concluded this manuscript catalogue with an epistolary formula: »Completed 6 July 1600, to the most generous, noble Governor of Calais, the most admired patron of Bernardus Paludanus«. ²⁴ Remarkably enough, it was only one month before that Paludanus had signed a contract, selling »all my wonder things [*wunder sachen*] as described in the catalogue [*Catalogo*]« for 5000 *Reichsthaler* to landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel. ²⁵ This sale of a (possibly large) part of the Paludanus museum obscures the status of the *Index Rerum fossilium (...)* *Catalogus* which was sent to Calais. Was this list compiled as a marketing tool to interest a possible buyer – in this case Dominique de Vic, the governor of Calais – in individual objects or even larger parts of the collection if the Kassel sale fell through? Or was it a schematic narrative of the collection de Vic had visited himself in Enkhuizen, again meant as a souvenir of that visit?²⁶

This list contains similar (type) things as the one published by Rathgeb, and some unique items – mostly the more easily identifiable *artificialia* – can evidently be identified as the same object. Yet the collection seemed to have doubled in size since 1592, with 136 drawers holding over 12,000 individual containers. However, its classification system here is differently formulated, referring to Greek gods as overarching headings for the four parts or orders of the collection. The »*primus ordo*« was linked to Pluto, god of the underworld, containing all kinds of materials and objects related to earth; all things

23 Older scholarship has suggested that the final words »noch ein Laden darinne allerley Kleydungen vnd frembde sachen (...) &c zu etliche hundert, die ich alle mit gelegenheit vnd zeit, ein jeglich in sein Kasten stellen soll, vnd E.F.Gn. zustellen (my italics)« imply that the entire collection as described in the catalogue was sold to Friedrich and incorporated in the Stuttgart collection. Recent research has shown no Paludanus objects were ever present in the *Kunstammer* in Stuttgart: Landesmuseum Württemberg (ed.), *Die Kunstammer der Herzöge von Württemberg: Bestand, Geschichte, Kontext*, 3 vol., Stuttgart/Ulm 2017.

24 Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1821, f. 333r–340v.

25 Marburg, HstAM Urk. 10 nr 944 (17 June 1600). The *Catalogus* listing the items sold has not been found. It is evident from later descriptions of the Kassel *Kunstammer* that specifically ethnographic objects purchased from Paludanus indeed were displayed there: Scherner, Antje, Eine Beschreibung Kassels aus dem Jahr 1602. Auszüge aus dem Tagebuch Friedrich Gerschows von der Reise Herzog Philipp Julius von Pommern-Wolgast, in: *Zeitschrift für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 117/118 (2012–2013), 57–74, here 65–66.

26 See his (undated) inscription in the *album amicorum* of Paludanus: National Library, The Hague (KB), MS 133 B 63, f. 538r.

having to do with water were arranged under Neptune, god of the seas; the third order (plants, seeds, fruits etc) was named for Ceres, goddess of fruits and plants, and the fourth to Mercury, the god linked to craftsmen and artists and thus symbolizing *artificialia*. The objects within every one of these categories were gathered under captions or titles (also used in the *Index* of 1592, but in a different order and phrasing) and then listed in numbered drawers, which were, much like the 1592-*Index*, subdivided in boxes, containers, satchels and pigeonholes. Whereas there is overlap between specific categories, for example the *terra sigillata*, the drawer number and the number of compartments is slightly or completely different. Does this suggest that the collection was reordered over time?

This divergent ordering principle, with classical gods »reigning« the four parts of the Paludanus collection, was only used for this particular list, perhaps because its recipient was familiar with it as an intellectual framework. As such, its focus was more on the symbolic order of things than on their spatial positioning in a room.

5. The *Algemeijn register odder vertzeichnunge* of 1617

In 1617, Paludanus completed his massive *Cathalogus sive descriptio rerum naturalium et artificialium* (...) *Algemeijn register odder vertzeichnunge so van natuirliche als kunststreichen sacchen*, an octavo volume of 382 closely handwritten pages, preceded by twenty pages of dedicatory poems, including the poetic praise of Grotius, also copied in Paludanus's hand. A bilingual catalogue, in Latin and a mixture of German and Dutch, it detailed a staggering amount of ethnographic objects, mostly from the East- and West-Indies – the first category to be described and the only one to be numbered (335 items).²⁷ This shift in emphasis does not come as a surprise. One of the Dutch Republic's main ports, Enkhuizen was the town from which cargo ships destined for, or returning from, the East Indies moored. In 1597, after his tour in the Paludanus collection, Neumair was taken to the harbour and witnessed how sailors eagerly offered him »all kinds of exotic things« – evidently a regular occurrence.²⁸

As one of its first shareholders, Paludanus was heavily involved in the establishment of the VOC (East India Company) in 1602, and, as the annotations in his 1617 catalogue show, some of these exotic objects were indeed presents to him from VOC-captains. The ethnographical objects were followed by thousands of natural objects – ordered in drawers or, as in the case of larger items, listed separately: 8700 shells; 1900 seeds and plants; 3400 minerals and fossils. The collection held at least 17,000 items. In contrast to the con-

27 Kopenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS GKS, 3467, 8^o.

28 Boblenz, Stammbucheintrag, 274.

cise descriptions in the two lists discussed before, many entries here contain extensive information on the objects' geographical provenance, on their therapeutical use, on their smell, colour, size or form, on the way they were produced, or on their function as tools or instruments (especially in the case of the »exotic« objects).

Undoubtedly, this 1617 manuscript was meant for publication. In 1597, Paludanus had already expressed his wish »to describe everything and have it printed« to Neumair (*Gab dermalen vor, er wolte es alles ordentlich beschreiben und drucken lassen*).²⁹ The manuscript has all the bibliographical characteristics of a printer's copy: it is neatly written, almost without corrections (it must have been copied by Paludanus from a draft version); it contains twenty pages in Paludanus's hand of dedicatory poems to him in Latin, French and Dutch, including Grotius's poetic praise, and it bears printers' signatures at the bottom of every quire.

Why the project was never executed is not clear – but it is interesting to consider what its function would have been had the catalogue indeed been published. What kind of public did Paludanus have in mind? Did he intend to have illustrations added to the text? Printed collection catalogues *in this format* did not yet exist as such, and it remains unclear what Paludanus wanted with it.³⁰ There are some clues that, once again, such a book was intended as a marketing tool. In a description of some ostrich eggs, Paludanus remarks that »these could be turned into cups when one encases them in silver or gold«. ³¹ Listing large pieces of coral, he adds that these »would all be fitting for a fountain or grotto in a princely garden«. ³² Such observations can safely be interpreted as advice or suggestions for a future owner.

Indeed, by 1617 Paludanus wanted to sell off his entire *Wunderkammer*. Two years before, in 1615, he had offered »all his things« *en bloc* to Moritz of Hesse-Kassel, who fifteen years previously, in 1600, had already bought a substantial number of objects. ³³ Getting on in years, Paludanus explicitly desired his museum to remain together. Since his heirs showed no interest, he turned to Moritz again – but without success. Perhaps he surmised that a publication of his entire *museum*, including praise from the likes of Grotius, would reach a much larger audience of possible buyers.

29 Ibidem, 273.

30 Marrache-Gouraud, Myriam, *La légende des objets. Le cabinet de curiosités réfléchi par son catalogue* (Europe, XVI^e–XVII^e siècles, Genève 2020, discusses only published catalogues of early modern museums.

31 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS GKS, 3467, 116.

32 Ibidem, 93.

33 Leiden, University Library, MS PAP 1B, Paludanus to Moritz, 13 Oktober 1615.

6. The *Index* of 1624

The last list, dated December 1624 and not in Paludanus's hand but in that of a scribe, again bears the title of *Index* rather than *Catalogus*.³⁴ The manuscript does not look like a list but reads rather as a piece of narrative prose. In fact, it is evidently an epistolary text, designated for a single recipient. Even more than in the previous documents, Paludanus is firmly present as its author, opening thus: »In my museum of natural things, I assign the first place to things from the Earth«. Clearly, the natural things in his museum had again taken precedence over his ethnographic objects, like in his first two catalogues of 1592 and 1600. Likewise, he continues to describe the individual large drawers and their subdivisions, adhering more or less to the order of nature which he had used before: stones and minerals, shells, birds, insects and snakes, mummies, followed by ethnographic objects, religious things he himself had brought from the Holy Land and, finally, his »Chinese« items.

Again, this *Index* seems to have been compiled as a prospectus for a specific potential buyer. On 19 September 1622, the Italian nobleman Marcello Sacchetti had visited the Enkhuizen *Wunderkammer*, which he described as even more important than the collection of Ferrante Imperato: »Paludanus tells me, and I think he may be right, that no one else owns such a large quantity and diversity of things«. ³⁵ In the 1624 *Index*, Paludanus frequently uses Sacchetti's visit to advertise his museum as state-of-the-art – not a static collection but one that is always being updated and enriched with new acquisitions. Describing a number of Chinese »paintings« (probably scrolls) for example, Paludanus writes that, »since January of this year 1624, I have bought all these things which M. Sacchetti has not seen«. ³⁶

Even while trying to sell off his collections, Paludanus apparently could not resist the purchase of exciting things that came his way. The references to Sacchetti's visit and subsequent new additions to the museum were for the benefit of Sacchetti's most important patron, Maffeo Vincenzo Barberini, who in 1623 had been elected as pope Urbano VIII. It is therefore extremely likely that Paludanus hoped his museum would be purchased *en bloc* and installed in one of the pope's palaces in Rome.

34 Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Coll. Ashburnham 1828.

35 National Library, The Hague (KB), MS 133 B 63, f. 67v; cf. Hoogewerff, Godefridus Johannes, *De Nederlanden in 1622 door een Italiaan bereisd*, in: *Onze Eeuw* 13–4 (1913), 1–42; Brölmann, Catherine M., *Alle soglie del Grand Tour: Il viaggio di Marcello Sacchetti nelle Province Unie*, in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rom* 61 (1991), 85–104.

36 Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Coll. Ashburnham 1828, f. 16v.

7. Conclusion

The Enkhuizen *Wunderkammer* was never sold. After Paludanus had died in 1633, his heirs twice advertised for an auction of the collection, but this apparently never took place. In 1651, finally, parts of the museum were incorporated into the Gottorf *Kunstkammer* – a gift from Paludanus's family to duke Friedrich III of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf. Unfortunately, no catalogue or list of the objects transported to Gottorf has come to light.³⁷

The four »catalogues« of the Paludanus museum form paper counterparts to his object collection. We cannot take them at face value, however, because these lists were made with an audience in mind; in their format, wordings and organization, they were constructed for a specific or intended recipient, a specific function and situation. Giuseppe Olmi, writing about Ulisse Aldrovandi's massive collection, concluded that »his two cupboards with 4554 little drawers containing ›cose sotteranee, et conchilij et Ostreacei‹ are conceived of and used as filing cabinets, with actual samples from the natural world taking the place of index cards«. ³⁸ In his 1624 *Index*, Paludanus referred to Ulisse Aldrovandi as »my teacher«. ³⁹ Indeed, he likely modelled his collection in its organization, quantity, objects, order and even in its documentation on what he had once seen in Aldrovandi's museum in Bologna.

Like the Aldrovandi museum, the Paludanus *Wunderkammer* was not so much a symbolic place where reality was mirrored and reconstituted; rather it should be understood as an instrument for the exploration and comprehension of the natural and exotic world – and sometimes a marketable instrument at that. The four lists constitute our main source for the understanding of a collection which was once one of the largest of its kind in Europe, yet at the same time they allow only a partial reconstruction of the contents of the Paludanus museum, its layout and its development over time. Nevertheless, an in-depth analysis (in the form of a future concordance) may help us to gain insight into the intellectual, spatial and material process of early modern collecting.

37 For a description of some of the Paludanus objects in Gottorf: Olearius, Adam, *Gottorffische Kunst-Kamer, Worinnen Allerhand ungemeine Sachen, So theils die Natur, theils künstliche Hände hervor gebracht und bereitet. Vor diesem Aus allen vier Theilen der Welt zusammen getragen*, Schleswig 1666. See also Keblusek, Marika, *Four Parts of the World. The Gottorf Kunstkammer and the Paludanus Collection*, in: Kuhl, Uta/Köster, Constanze (ed.), *Wissenstransfer und Kulturimport in der frühen Neuzeit. Die Niederlande und Schleswig-Holstein*, Petersburg 2020, 298–307.

38 Olmi, Giuseppe, *L'inventario del mondo. Catalogazione della natura e luoghi del sapere nella prima età moderna*, Bologna 1992, 273.

39 Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Coll. Ashburnham 1828, f. 10r.